THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

ROUND TABLE

THE FUTURE OF EMPIRE

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A Radio Discussion by HERBERT HEATON
J. DONALD KINGSLEY *and* ARTHUR P. SCOTT

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Around the Round Table . . . .

HERBERT HEATON, professor of economic history at the University of Minnesota, was born in England and studied at Leeds University, the London School of Economics, and Birmingham University. He has taught at Birmingham University, the University of Tasmania, the University of Adelaide (Australia), and Queen's University (Kingston, Canada). In 1927 he came to the United States and joined the faculty of the University of Minnesota. Professor Heaton was a fellow of Leeds University (1912–13) and a Guggenheim Fellow (1931–32). He is secretary of the Committee on Research in Economic History of the Social Research Council and the author of *Welfare Work* (1919); *Yorkshire Woolen and Worsted Industries* (1920); *Modern Economic History, with Special Reference to Australia* (1920); *History of Trade and Commerce, with Special Reference to Canada* (1928); *The British Way to Recovery* (1934); and *Economic History of Europe* (1936).

J. DONALD KINGSLEY, of the department of political science of Antioch College, received his Ph.D. degree from the School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University. He spent 1936–38 in Europe as a research fellow of the Social Science Research Council. Professor Kingsley is the chairman of the Committee on Positive Recruitment of the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada. He is consulting editor of the *Public Personnel Quarterly*, contributing editor of *Current History*, and a member of the editorial board of the *Antioch Review*. He is the author of *Public Personnel Administration* (with W. E. Mosher) (1942) and *Strategy for Democracy* (with David Petegorsky) (1936) and is now completing *Bureaucracy in England*.

ARTHUR P. SCOTT, of the department of history of the University of Chicago, graduated from Princeton University in 1904 and went to Beirut, Syria, where he taught for three years in the Syrian Protestant College. In 1910 he graduated from Chicago Theological Seminary. He became a graduate student, specializing in European expansion, at the University of Chicago, where he later received his Ph.D. degree. Since 1913 he has been teaching at the University of Chicago and was prominent in the organization of the Humanities Survey Course. From 1924 to 1925 Professor Scott was a member of the Second Bradley Expedition to the Belgian Congo. He is the author of *Introduction to the Peace Treaties* (1919) and *Criminal Law in Colonial Virginia* (1930).

THE FUTURE OF EMPIRE

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MR. SCOTT: Probably many people are asking why we are discussing this particular topic today.

MR. HEATON: The answer, I think, is that a lot of people seem to be doing it. In fact, it has become a popular oratorical sport.

MR. KINGSLEY: Certainly, the issue has been raised to the level of a major question by Mr. Churchill's recent statement that he has not become the King's first minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire.[1]

MR. HEATON: What else could he say? What, for instance, would President Roosevelt have said had he been in Churchill's position?

But, of course, Churchill is not the only one who has talked. We've had a lot of talk on this side of the Atlantic as well—Sumner Welles, Knox, Willkie. Sumner Welles, for instance, said, "Our victory must bring in its train the liberation of all peoples. The age of imperialism is ended." That sounds like a contradiction to Churchill, and yet Mr. Knox has insisted that after the war we must have a great extension of bases on the Pacific.

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[1] ". . . . Let me, however, make this clear, in case there should be any mistake about it in any quarter: we mean to hold our own. I have not become the King's First Minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire. For that task, if ever it were prescribed, some one else would have to be found, and under a democracy I suppose the nation would have to be consulted.

"I am proud to be a member of that vast commonwealth and society of nations and communities gathered in and around the ancient British monarchy, without which the good cause might well have perished from the face of the earth . . . ." (speech delivered by Winston Churchill on November 15, 1942).

MR. SCOTT: That's all very true, but it has gone past the stage of talk in North Africa; it will soon be in the stage of administration in Tunis. Now, Tunis is a French protectorate, under German occupation, and it will soon be under Anglo-American occupation.

MR. KINGSLEY: There certainly seems to be some conflict between the professions of Mr. Welles and Mr. Hull and our actual actions in connection with French North Africa.

MR. HEATON: What do you mean by that? Do you mean that we're fighting to restore the French, the Dutch, the British, and the other empires? Or is it a wider thing?

MR. KINGSLEY: No, I think that this is a war for the liberation of all peoples everywhere. To the extent that we support the native imperialists, as we have been doing in North Africa, we're going contrary to the major purposes of the war.

MR. HEATON: Do we have to be concerned with the future of empires other than our own?

MR. KINGSLEY: I think very definitely we have to be concerned with them and our own.

MR. SCOTT: Perhaps it's a surprise to many to know that the United States is or has an empire.

MR. HEATON: It's not a surprise except perhaps to us. We tend to take these things for granted.

MR. KINGSLEY: We do have a very extensive empire, but the people in the United States have to be concerned not only with their own empire but with imperialism as a whole.

MR. HEATON: Why?

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MR. KINGSLEY: On two bases—first, on moral grounds. If we start with the dignity of the individual and assume that, then it follows that we have to be concerned with the condition of all mankind—with its freedom or with its subjugation. Secondly, on material grounds. I think it is of great importance to us to have some concern with the economic development of all the backward regions.

MR. HEATON: That's a pretty big order. Are we saying that everybody has a right to be concerned with everybody else? Are we giving to others the same right that we are claiming to express our opinions about them?

MR. KINGSLEY: I certainly should do that. Wherever someone is working with a hand tool today, when he might be working with a machine tool, he's lowering my standard of living, and to that extent I'm concerned materially.

MR. HEATON: Are you going to compel him to adopt the machine tool, or what is your attitude on that?

MR. KINGSLEY: No. I think he will adopt the machine tool if he has an opportunity to do so, because he will raise his own standard of living by that.

MR. SCOTT: Gentlemen, isn't it time that we define what we mean by "empire"?

MR. KINGSLEY: I might hazard a definition. I think that an empire is a political organization in which one group exercises political control over peoples of different origins and cultures.

MR. SCOTT: I agree with that, but I'd like to put in the proviso that it's by force or the exercise or the threat of force.

MR. HEATON: I think that everybody would accept that definition. The trouble with it is that it's so basic and so primary. Of course, incidentally, historically it's a statement of the way in which the human race has been behaving for the last five thousand years.

But, as I see our topic today, "The Future of Empire," there are

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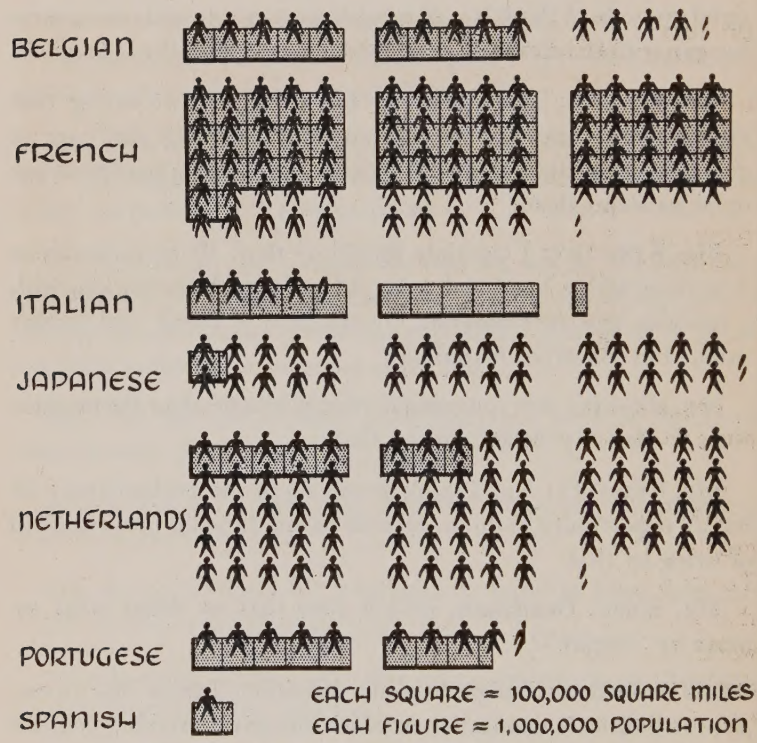
POPULATION AND SIZE OF THE WORLD'S GREAT EMPIRES

EXCLUDING MOTHER-COUNTRY

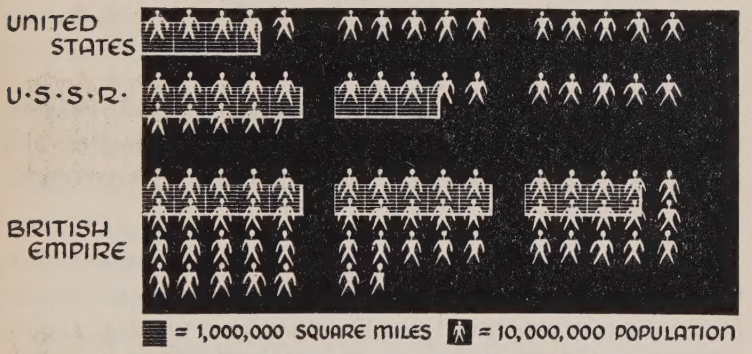


Source: *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and *World Almanac for 1943*

three things that we have to keep in mind: Future of what sort of an empire? Do we mean the future of self-governing dominions inside an empire? Or do we mean the future of the colonial dependent people? Or do we mean the whole thing put together—mother-country, dominions, and colonial dependent peoples, because they do hang together? To eliminate one of them might mean the collapse of the other two.

POPULATION AND SIZE OF THE WORLD'S GREAT EMPIRES*

MOTHER-COUNTRY INCLUDED



Source: *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and *World Almanac for 1943*

* Please note that the key has changed from the preceding pictogram in comparing the two sets of figures.

MR. SCOTT: I think that we'll have to limit it to the dependent peoples. The time available for this University of Chicago ROUND TABLE will allow only that. That's a big enough topic. It means that six hundred million human beings, one of every three in the world, is a colonial subject of the British, the French, the Dutch, the Russian, the Japanese, and the American empires, not to mention the Belgian and the Portuguese and the Spanish and even the Danish.

MR. KINGSLEY: I certainly agree with that limitation, because I think that the colonial problem is *the* problem.

MR. HEATON: I suppose I shall have to accept it, with a protest, and recognize that we can't discuss the whole thing. I would like just to point out, however, so that we don't miss it, that obviously the future of such self-governing dominions as Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa are at stake in this conflict.

Having stated my reservation, I'm quite willing to accept your limitation that we discuss the dependent colonial peoples only.

MR. SCOTT: We regret the limitation, but we must move on. I suggest that we take up next the various factors involved in the building-up of an imperial structure.

MR. HEATON: What do you mean?

MR. SCOTT: Oh, strategic factors—control of Suez, Panama, Singapore—political factors, psychological factors connected with prestige, let's say, or missionary zeal, and, of course, the economic factors.

MR. HEATON: I wondered if you were going to mention that. Some people, I suppose, would maintain that the economic was by far the most important and that the other three—strategic, political, and prestige—were just rationalizations to justify the economic interests of an empire.

MR. KINGSLEY: I certainly would maintain that. It seems to me that, at least since the middle of the last century, economic causes have been the primary factors in the development of imperialism. It's been due in very large part to the inability of monopoly-capitalism either to distribute the goods it produces at home or to invest the capital which it accumulates at home. Because of that we have had two drives—a quest for markets on the part of the monopolists and a quest for investment opportunities for capital. That has been the primary cause of most of the imperialism which exists today.

MR. HEATON: I'm surprised that you've omitted one thing, Kingsley. You didn't say anything about the importance of empire sources of supply—such things as rubber and wool and cotton and palm oil and copra. Did you leave that out intentionally, or did you just lump that in your general idea of economic interests?

MR. KINGSLEY: I would agree certainly that that's important. It's important, primarily, however, in terms of the power to restrict,

as an aspect of international competition, access to those supplies. In normal times nonimperial powers have access to those supplies.

MR. HEATON: Is that really so? Has it been a case that there was a restriction? Was it impossible for the nonimperial power to get rubber from the Dutch East Indies, to get tea from China, or to get palm oil from South Africa or Africa?

MR. KINGSLEY: That's precisely what I said. In normal times it is possible for them to.

MR. HEATON: Yes.

MR. KINGSLEY: The real difficulty is that the metropolitan controlling power has the right and the strength at any particular moment to restrict that access.

MR. SCOTT: Gentlemen, do you seem to think that empires pay the imperial power in dollars and cents, or in pounds or rubles?

MR. HEATON: Not nearly so much, I suspect, as people think. I've noticed, for instance, in analyzing the exports and imports of imperial powers, that they do most of their shopping and most of their selling with countries other than the parts of the empire, and certainly rather than with the colonial dependent parts of the empire. The Germans did not really get much economic advantage out of their empire. They didn't find it a good place to settle their population, did they?

MR. SCOTT: No. I remember the figures for before 1914. The total German trade with all its colonies was one-half of 1 per cent of its total world trade.[2]

MR. KINGSLEY: Of course, I would agree with that. I think that

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[2] The old German Empire consisted of German East Africa (renamed Tanganyika Territory), Ruanda and Urundi, German Southwest Africa, the Cameroons, Togoland, and certain islands in the Pacific (Marshall, Caroline, Samoa, etc.). This empire, other than providing a market for German manufactured goods, supplied edible oils and fruits, sisal, cotton, rubber, cattle, palm oil, cacao, vanadium, and phosphates in varying quantities.

it's very difficult to establish the fact that a colony ever pays as a whole. But I think that it's irrelevant as to whether it does or not. It pays some groups definitely, and those are the groups that are interested in maintaining the colonial system.

MR. HEATON: Isn't that the same as with a good deal of politics? When we get from politics to economics, we do a certain thing because it benefits the butter producers of Minnesota; another thing, because it benefits the mining people of the mining states. We do another thing because it benefits, shall we say, a New England group. So that probably "Does it pay?" is a case of totaling up the totals and seeing what it costs to get them.

But I don't want to stop on this economic thing, because, when all is said and done, we are not fighting the war and countries do not stick to empires just for the economic factors. Those things like strategy, which Scott mentioned, and political prestige and personal prestige are the ones that count; and they will count quite a lot, I suspect, in the future. If we want to restore empires, it will probably be strategian politics and prestige as much as economics that will decide people to do it or not to do it.

MR. KINGSLEY: I'm not suggesting at all that the individual stops and considers whether or not he has an economic interest involved. What I would say in respect to that is that in my view the strategic factors and the prestige factors and all the others are secondary. They overlie the economic interests involved.

MR. HEATON: Then you would say that an empire is also what is known as the total and that the economic is part of that total.

MR. SCOTT: Gentlemen, we're thinking too much about the imperial powers and what empires do for them. Ought we not spare a little thought to the subject peoples? What do they get out of it, economically or otherwise—good or bad?

MR. KINGSLEY: I'm sure that Heaton will disagree with me on this point, but I think that by definition imperialism is bad for the

subject peoples—disastrous for the subject peoples—because by definition they are subjected both to political oppression and to economic exploitation.

MR. HEATON: I'd question your definition. I'd put in, or I'd amend it, by saying that imperial control makes possible political oppression and makes possible economic exploitation. But, except in the nastiest sense of the term, you can't exploit a thing unless you put something into it first. If you are going to get lots of rubber and palm oil and other things, then you have to help the natives to produce them.

MR. SCOTT: In other words, economic self-interests can sometimes be enlightened?

MR. HEATON: Economic self-interest is very often enlightened. It does strange things. If you want to sell cotton goods to India—a purely economic interest—you improve the health of the Indian population, and up goes the population 100 per cent in fifty years. Then you set to work and irrigate and do other things in order to abolish famine, and up goes the population. I do not think that the Indian people are any the worse off for the abolition of famines.

MR. SCOTT: That reminds me of one side of imperialism that I've stressed a great deal in my own thinking. Of course, I'll admit, frankly, that the imperialist nations are out to get something, but they also have professed to be out to give something. I for one do not believe that that profession of altruism is entirely hypocritical. I do not think, for instance, that William Howard Taft, as governor-general of the Philippines, was out to make money or prestige for himself. He was out to do a good job.[3]

MR. KINGSLEY: I agree with that entirely. One of the encourag-

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[3] William Howard Taft, the twenty-seventh president of the United States, served as president of the United States Philippine Commission in 1900–1901 and as civil governor of the Philippines from 1901 to 1904. In 1902 in Rome he arranged with Pope Leo XIII the question of the purchase of Roman Catholic lands in the Philippines.

ing things in the world is that the average person does have a moral concern with the condition of the subject peoples.

However, I should like to say something in respect to Heaton's point. To be sure, the dependent peoples have made some economic progress under the tutelage of the imperial powers. They've had capital invested, which they needed. They've had technical skills imported, which they needed. But the question, I think, is not that. Rather, would they be further along under some other type of organization? Can't we provide other means by which they can get the capital and the technical resources that they need and, at the same time, by which they will not be exploited?

MR. HEATON: That is the problem for the future, which, I assume, we'd better turn to discuss now.

MR. SCOTT: Gentlemen, so far we have been talking about the past and present of empire, but really we must address ourselves to the specific topic. What are the possible and plausible alternatives? Of course, the very obvious one off the top of the heap is to say that the pre-war status should be restored and that empires should go on as they have been.

MR. HEATON: You do not include the Japanese and Italian dependent possessions in that list, I assume?

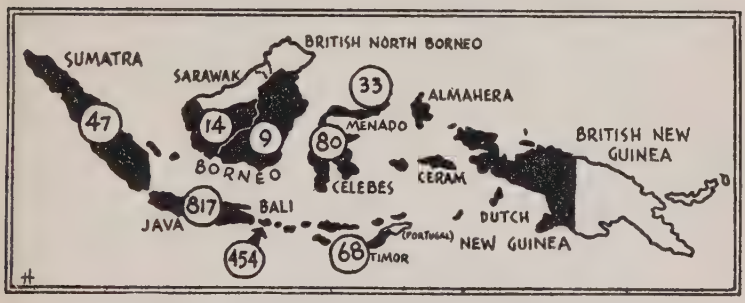
MR. SCOTT: No, I don't mean that.

MR. KINGSLEY: Of course, I should say that that is a wholly unrealistic alternative and that there is no possibility of restoring the status quo which existed before the war, mainly because the economic ties which held the empires together—the old empires—have been broken.

In the case of the Dutch Empire, for example, the Dutch, in retreating from the East Indies, pursued a rigorous scorched-earth policy. The capital investments which they had in those colonies have been destroyed. At the same time, the capital goods of Holland itself have been destroyed by the Nazis. Who is going to rebuild the Dutch East Indies? Holland can't.

NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES

MOST DENSELY POPULATED LANDS



FIGURES INDICATE POPULATION PER SQUARE MILE

Mr. Heaton: I'm not so pessimistic about that, because it is surprising how quickly in the modern world we can save; how quickly we can accumulate capital; how quickly we can create the necessary credits. After the last war we said somewhat the same thing. Yet the capital required for the building of the devastated areas, for the putting-out of new ships, and all the other things, such as loans to the defeated people, were forthcoming. By 1924, in spite of the difficulties of the five years after the Armistice, the world was back, and the devastated areas were back. I suspect that the capital will be dug up. I mean that the bankers will get together—American bankers, British bankers, and Dutch bankers—and it will not matter much who provides the capital. I'm not so worried about the scarcity of capital. We've shown an ability to raise over thirteen billions in the last three or four weeks.

Mr. Scott: There's another impediment, and that is the fact that the imperialist nations have lost face. Their prestige in keeping the empires without having to fight was a very important thing. Now it has been demonstrated that they cannot do it.

Mr. Heaton: I suspect that that's a more difficult problem for the reestablishment of empires in Asia than the capital one. There used to be a description of the Balliol College, Oxford, man who al-

ways regarded himself as tops among the college men of Oxford. He was described as a person characterized by an "unquestionable assumption of effortless superiority"—in other words, face. I'm afraid that face is gone.

MR. SCOTT: We seem to be fairly well agreed, then, that there is no chance of restoring the old empires. Can we now mention some other alternatives?

MR. KINGSLEY: There's the rather obvious one to set all the subject peoples free. That's been suggested by no less a person than Mr. Willkie. What do you think of that?

MR. HEATON: Free all the people, all the time, everywhere! I see two difficulties to it, apart from its being magnificent eloquence. It would do the people no kindness, for if some people moved out from control, there would be no guarantee that somebody else would not come in to fill the vacuum. But more serious than that is the fact that it is a backward step. It is the creation of still more of what would necessarily be politically weak units. It is an increase of that unhappy practice of "Balkanizing" the world—that cutting the world up into smaller and smaller units. If you make them free, you give them power to start their tariffs, to work out their own economic policies, and so on. To cut the world up into more and more fragments at a time when the world needs everything it can get to bind it together politically, as it is already bound economically and by modern transportation in an international economy, is not wise.

MR. KINGSLEY: I agree with that entirely, if we mean by setting them free that we set them free and do nothing about it. If we simply turn them loose as small states, they cannot possibly exist. I think we would all agree to that.

MR. SCOTT: I see an alternative, at least a modification, of setting them all free. It's suggested by Queen Wilhelmina's speech to her people which had the approval of her government.

She says: "I'm convinced that after the war it will be possible to reconstruct the kingdom on the solid foundation of complete

partnership. I visualize, without anticipating the recommendations of the future conference [and that's a Dutch conference, purely], that they will be directed towards a Commonwealth, in which the Netherlands, Indonesia, Surinam, and Curaçao will participate with complete self-reliance and freedom of conduct for each part regarding its internal affairs, but with a readiness to render mutual assistance."[4]

MR. KINGSLEY: I think that that is a passable alternative only if the colonial peoples prefer, which I rather doubt in view of their past histories, that type of freedom rather than a more extensive type.

MR. HEATON: Does one know what Oriental peoples wish? Aren't we assuming that we can put into their minds the sort of Western consciousness of individual dignity and freedom and all that sort of vocabulary? That is an assumption which I think is extremely dangerous. I won't say it's utopian, but I would say that it's probably thoroughly unrealistic.

MR. KINGSLEY: My answer to that would be that we don't know.

MR. HEATON: We don't know.

MR. KINGSLEY: As long as they're held as subject peoples, they will not develop the capacity for self-government. There is no question about that. That capacity will grow only with use.

MR. SCOTT: Let me suggest still a third alternative. Could we offer freedom to some of the subject colonial peoples of the world, as members of the United Nations, and yet keep the others—the more backward ones—under the tutelage for a while of the United Nations?

MR. HEATON: Or a reasonable facsimile thereof, since we do not know what the United Nations is.

MR. KINGSLEY: That is, under a world organization?

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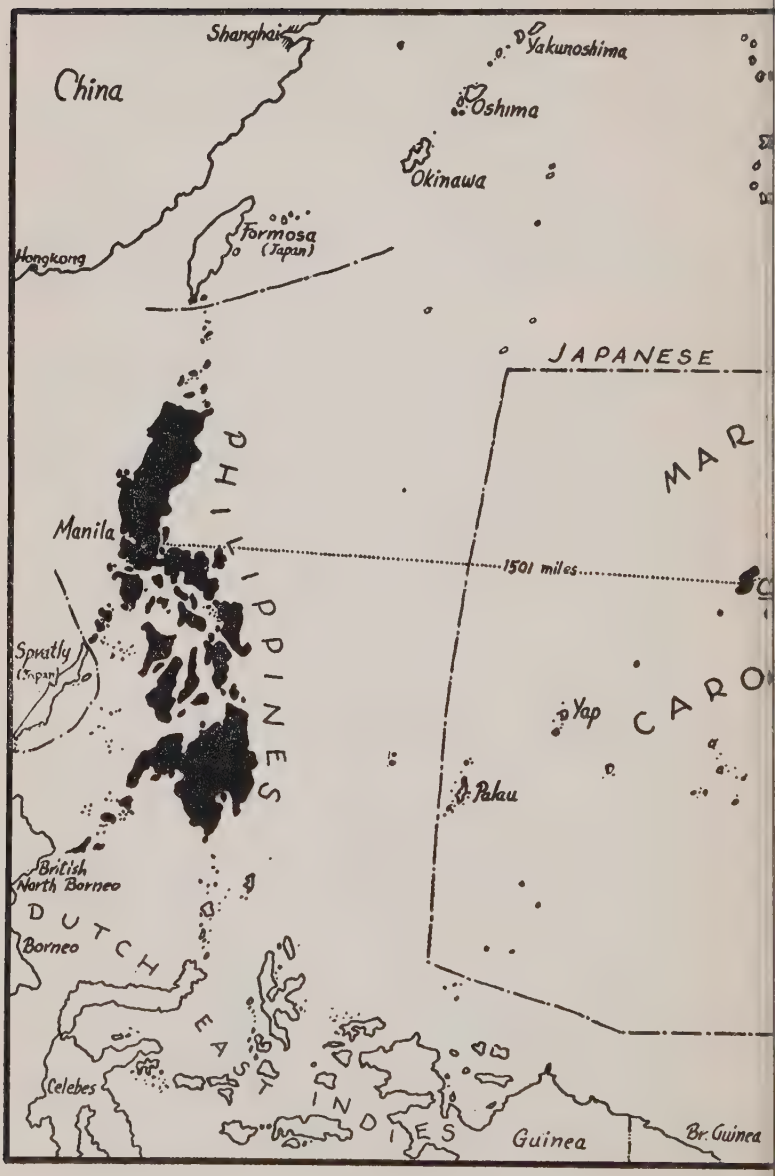
[4] The Queen delivered this speech on December 6, 1942.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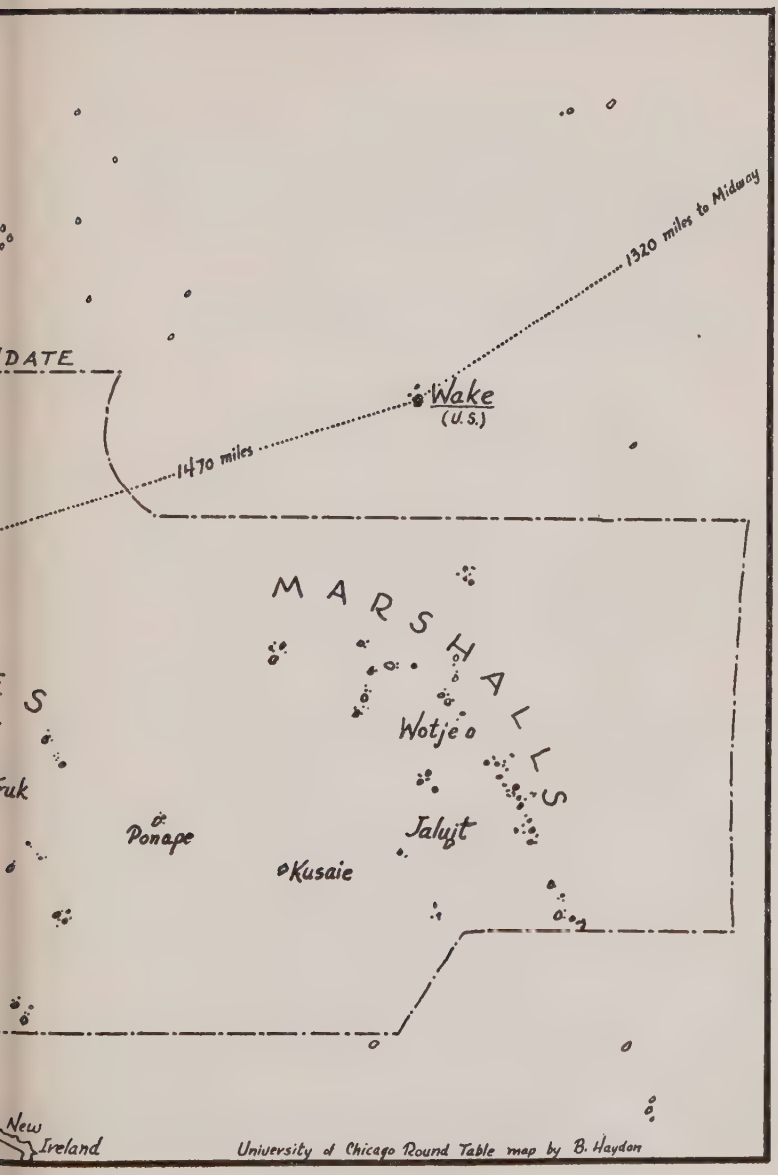
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University of Chicago Round Table map by B. Haydon

MR. SCOTT: Under some sort of a world organization.

MR. HEATON: I wonder, Kingsley, if Scott has a list on his cuff? I can't see his cuff, but I suspect that he has cases he can give us here.

MR. SCOTT: There are scores and scores of specific colonial areas, and, obviously, we can't discuss all of them. Furthermore, we as members of the ROUND TABLE are not going to have the exact determination, but as members of a still free country we can make nominations. Kingsley, will you nominate a country that's ready for freedom?

MR. KINGSLEY: I'm bursting to do so. I certainly would say India, by all means.

MR. HEATON: Is that all your list?

MR. SCOTT: I'll put in Korea.

MR. HEATON: Korea. I'd like to stop on India just a minute. I know the the ROUND TABLE has discussed it in some detail, but, in the first place, there is nothing in the way of India's getting this freedom as a member of the United Nations, except that, in the first place, it is already a member of the United Nations. In the second place, it cannot make up its mind what it wants.[5]

MR. KINGSLEY: Of course, that's a very doubtful assumption. I would rather state it in this way: India can't make up its mind what Britain wants.

MR. HEATON: I'll take Halifax as a pretty official representative: The offer made by Cripps last spring would have given Indian leaders, during the war, every position in the Executive Council, except that of commander-in-chief. After the war it would have given India the right to frame her own constitution and leave the British Commonwealth if she wished.[6]

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[5] See George Bobrinskoy, Walter Clark, and Quincy Wright, *India*, a University of Chicago ROUND TABLE transcript, No. 212, broadcast April 5, 1942.

[6] ". . . . Side by side with the Dominions stand the Colonies, at various stages on the way to self-government. The last century has seen many changes in the

MR. KINGSLEY: That's true, but it's still pretty clear, isn't it, that the constituted Indian authorities didn't think that was enough? That wasn't the type of freedom they wanted, or they would have taken it.

MR. HEATON: It wasn't the constituted Indian authorities. It was the internal inability of the Moslems, the Indian princes, and the various other people in what is not a political unit—India is just a peninsula—to agree. They could not agree on that point.

MR. KINGSLEY: Of course, agreement is a relative matter, and I would certainly disagree that India is not a political entity. I think that it's a political entity in almost the same degree that the United States is a political entity.

MR. HEATON: I'm afraid, Scott, that Kingsley and I have started

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relations between Great Britain and her Colonies. Today these relations are determined by the idea of trusteeship.

"We do not regard the Colonies as possessions; we do not draw a penny of revenue from them; they are trusts; and as such we treat them. And let there be no mistake about it. Today they are making a magnificent contribution to our war effort, in men, money and work. They would not be doing this unless they knew very well what would be the fate of all their fondest hopes if they fell under Axis domination. . . . .

"During the war, that offer [the Cripps offer to India] would have given to India leaders every post in the Executive Council, except that of Commander-in-Chief. And after the war it would have given India the right to frame her own constitution, and if she so wished, leave the British Commonwealth.

"The offer was rejected. The mission failed. It did not fail because, as has been suggested, at some stage in the negotiations, Sir Stafford Cripps was overruled from London. That is a complete fabrication. It failed because the various Indian parties were unable to reach agreement among themselves.

"It failed because the minorities of India, headed by some 90,000,000 Moslems, were quite unwilling to accept any form of government which would place them under the Indian Congress Party; and the Congress Party, which is, of course, a political machine and not a legislative body, was equally unwilling to come to terms with the minorities. But the offer stands, and meanwhile recruits for the Indian forces are coming in at the rate of 70,000 a month; not a conscript among them and every man a volunteer . . . ." (speech delivered by Lord Halifax, British Ambassador to the United States and at one time Viceroy of India, on December 7, 1942).

something here. We're going to have to agree to differ on this point. What about the rest of your list?

MR. SCOTT: Should we not throw in the Philippines? Any objections?

MR. KINGSLEY: No. I would certainly agree to the Philippines.

MR. HEATON: What about Puerto Rico?

MR. SCOTT: How about Puerto Rico? There would be others—the Italian North African Empire, and so on.

But there is a topic that we haven't taken up. We're talking about tutelage under the United Nations. Do we mean the United Nations as they now are, or are we looking forward to some world organization that has some real power and authority? If so, how much?

MR. KINGSLEY: I see three passable alternatives of post-war organization. One is to continue the national state system as it has been in the past. A second is to continue the national state system as it has been in the past but with a new superstructure erected over it, somewhat like the League of Nations. Neither of these will satisfy me, nor do I think that they will satisfy the aspirations of the peoples of the world or the technical demands of the present day. The third alternative is a supernational organization with very extensive power, which means that national sovereignty will be abrogated not only on the part of the small powers but on the part of the large powers as well.

MR. HEATON: I do not think that that is necessary to help us over this problem, especially that of the tutelage of the areas we should not regard as grown up enough to be offered freedom. I think that something like the old mandate system, with some additional vitamins to repair the deficiencies that the old mandate system had, would be better.

MR. SCOTT: By that you mean the system devised after the last war for trusteeship instead of ownership?[7]

---

[7] The mandate system applies to conditions set up by the Treaty of Versailles for the administration of the former overseas possessions of Germany and Turkey. Mandatory Powers are those Powers which were selected by the Supreme Council of the Allies to administer these territories under mandate. It was created by Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which formed part of the Treaty of Versailles, and has thus gained the recognition of all States that are members of the League. This Article provided that the character of the mandate must vary with the varying conditions of each territory. They were thus divided into three classes:

Class A included Iraq, Palestine, and Syria, whose independence was to be provisionally recognized until they were able to stand alone. The two former were assigned to Great Britain, the latter to France. (The mandate for Iraq ended in 1932 and for Syria in 1936.)

Class B included the former German central African colonies in which the mandatory is responsible for the administration and undertakes to promote the moral and material welfare of the people. The major part of these fell to French, British, and Belgian rule.

Class C included Southwest Africa, Samoa, New Guinea, the islands north of the Equator in the western Pacific and the tiny island of Nauru, which "can best be administered under the laws of the mandatory as integral portions of its territories, subject to the safeguards in the interests of the indigenous population." These were to be administered by the Union of South Africa, New Zealand, Australia, Japan, and the British Empire, respectively.

A mandated territory differs from a protectorate in that the protecting power in the latter obtains rights over the population and against other powers, whereas a mandatory in its capacity as guardian assumes obligations both toward the population and the League (from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*).

". . . . A survey of the Commission's [Permanent Mandatory Commission] proceedings leads to the conclusion that it was primarily dependent upon the mandatory Powers for information and that the native populations, in whose interest the whole system was presumably established, had little opportunity for the independent presentation of grievances or for a full and impartial hearing. The Commission did serve to mobilize opinion, and by its suggestions, influenced the conduct of the mandatories to some degree and made a beginning of establishing international standards of colonial administration. But it cannot be said that the P.M.C. acted vigorously as a bold and independent agency determined to protect native interests, regardless of the prestige of the mandatories. Whether international friction in the backward regions was greater or less, whether the natives were better off or worse off than would have been the case under some alternative arrangement, no one can say with any degree of certainty . . . ." (Frederick L. Schuman, *International Politics* [New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1941]).

WHAT WERE MAJOR FORTIFICATIONS IN THE FAR EAST

● Naval and Air Bases ▲ Military Posts

MR. HEATON: Yes.

MR. KINGSLEY: Of course, all that accomplished was to put a moral veneer over the traditional and puerile practices of the great powers.

MR. HEATON: I don't agree with that, because I happened to have seen a little of it in operation. If you had heard the Australian officials lament the fact that they did not have the power to do to the people in New Guinea what the Germans had done before them, I think that you would have changed some of your opinions, or cer-

tainly you would not be so wholesale in your condemnation of the mandate principle. The mandate did operate. It had been handed the necessary public opinion, and the trusteeship element was there in a surprisingly large degree. If one is a perfectionist, of course, it wasn't satisfactory.

MR. KINGSLEY: It operated in so far as the British were operating the mandate system, because they governed in line with their traditions. But, in so far as the Japanese were operating the mandate system, it didn't work in that way.

MR. SCOTT: That suggests to me that there is another alternative—setting some of the nations free and leaving the more backward ones under their present political control but introducing, by common consent, a mandatory system and a system of trusteeship, with a certain amount of world supervision over the administration. That seems to me to be the nearest to earth of any of our suggestions.

MR. HEATON: I'd like to revive a suggestion which was made at the last Peace Conference, but which was dropped—that the United States should take over some of these areas. It would have the joint merit of giving the United States control over the former German, and present Japanese, islands north of the Equator, and at the same time it would give us a chance to practice the principle of trusteeship over an area which definitely is within our interests.

MR. KINGSLEY: I think that that is a very dangerous suggestion. I think that the greatest danger of continuing imperialism in the world is the danger of American imperialism because of our economic position at the end of the war.

MR. HEATON: Everything is dangerous. We have to weigh up the relative risks and the relative advantages. There is nothing free. There is no perfect system. We're not starting out from scratch, and we have to try to find an organization which, on the whole, is likely to work in accordance with what we think is a better way of doing the world's business.

MR. KINGSLEY: We aren't going back to scratch, either, I trust.

MR. HEATON: No. We're not going back to scratch.

MR. KINGSLEY: The mandate system is a reactionary move entirely. It didn't work before. There is no reason under heaven that I know of why it should work again.

MR. HEATON: Scott, it looks as if Kingsley and I are going to have to disagree.

MR. SCOTT: I still feel that it might work if it were given a better and longer chance.

Gentlemen, we do seem to be in agreement that empires are such enormous and complicated and varied facts in the present organization of mankind that their abolition overnight would be impossible. We agree that there are features connected with imperialism that seem inconsistent with the general ideals for which we're fighting. These evils we all would like to see reduced and removed as speedily and effectively as possible. We agree that a return to the pre-war status is highly improbable. We agree that certain peoples should be given independence as members of a United Nation organization. In particular, we all seem to agree that India must be given complete self-government, with the right to withdraw from the British Empire. We agree that less advanced peoples will need guidance. We seem to disagree primarily on the best way of providing that guidance.

Gentlemen, we can only hope that the responsible statesmen, both economic and political, have been listening to us, for later on we shall have to listen to them.

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More on This Topic

CONDLIFFE, J. B., "The Changing East," *Free World*, March, 1943. *Discusses the relation of the colonial peoples of the Far East to prosperous world trade.*

HUXLEY, JULIAN, "Colonies in a Changing World," *Free World*, September, 1942. *Says that the future of the native peoples, not the satisfaction of the claims of European powers to prestige or to rights of exploitation, should be the primary objective.*

LORD HAILEY, "India in the Modern World," *Foreign Affairs*, April, 1943. *Gives a British view on the achievements and justifications of British policy in India.*

LORD HALIFAX, "Propaganda as a Weapon," *Vital Speeches*, January 15, 1943. *Reports the status of dominions and colonies within the British Empire.*

REVES, EMERY, "Should the British Empire Be Broken Up?" *American Mercury*, May, 1943. *Argues that the true test of "freedom" must not be the test of possession of national independence and sovereignty.*

SMITH, KINGSBURY, "The American Plan for a Reorganized World," *Reader's Digest*, January, 1943. *Reports on the plans and objectives of the administration.*

"Southeastern Asia and the Philippines," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, March, 1943. *Thirteen articles on the economics and politics of the Far East.*

WILLKIE, WENDELL, *One World*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1943.

WRIGHT, QUINCY, *Mandates under the League of Nations*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930.

What Do *You* Think?

1. Do you think that the British, Dutch, French, Belgian, and American empires should be restored after the war? Can they be restored? Is the freedom of colonial peoples a war aim? Discuss.

2. What are the arguments for and against the present systems of empire? Do you think that imperialism is bad for the subject peoples because of political oppression and economic exploitation? Or would you say that in many instances enlightened economic self-interest makes imperialism beneficial to the dependent colonial peoples? What are the moral issues raised by the existence of empire?

3. Should an effort be made to raise the standards of life in the backward tropical colonies? How? What are the conditions of life in the tropical colonies? Food? Health? Resources?

4. Should the colonial peoples be given their freedom after the war? Do you agree with Mr. Heaton that such action would do the people no kindness? Would such action necessarily result in the creation of many more small states?

5. In your opinion what should be the future of India? Should the United States be concerned as to whether India is given freedom, dominion status, or kept within the British Empire?

6. After the war should the United Nations adopt the mandate system as suggested by Mr. Heaton? Should all colonies be proclaimed mandates and held in trust for their inhabitants on behalf of the world at large? Or does the mandate system merely put a "moral veneer" upon the imperialism of the larger powers, as Mr. Kingsley says? How satisfactory were the results of the mandate system?

7. What colonies do you regard as ready for full independence? Is colonial status a step on the road to freedom? What concrete program or proposals would you suggest for solving the post-war problem of securing freedom and prosperity for colonial peoples? Do you think the United States should take over some of the Pacific islands and colonial areas as a trusteeship? How satisfactory was the administration of the Philippines by the United States? Puerto Rico?

The People Say . . . .

The following letters are representative of the views expressed by the ROUND TABLE *audience on "Morals in Wartime" broadcast April 25, 1943.*

*

Fails To See Evidence

. . . . I fail to see much evidence of "enlightened self-interest" in the course pursued by your country the past few years. Unless my memory is slipping, you were the last to get into the fight, to see that it was any concern—that its outcome could have any effect on your future. "Self-interest" yes!—but "enlightened," well, hardly. . . . .—*A listener from Brandon, Manitoba, Canada.*

*

Enlightened Self-interest

. . . . I, too, agree that enlightened self-interest tempered with a sincere altruism is our solution to the problems we now confront and will continue to confront in the future with the whole world.—*A listener from Detroit, Michigan.*

*

Inward Motive Is Real Difference

. . . . There is no difference in the *outward* acts of one actuated by enlightened selfishness and altruism. The real difference is the *inward* motive. The one does good to his fellow-man because it pays—especially in the long run. The other because he thinks it just and right by whatsoever standards he follows—the laws of God and the Bible, or just social justice. Or, to put it another way, honesty is the best policy; but he who acts on this principle (enlightened selfishness) is not an honest man.—*A listener from Dunedin, Florida.*

*

Not Sensational

. . . . We were glad to hear the sociologists' slant on the juvenile delinquency problem of today. At least, it's not so sensational as the papers would have us believe.—*A listener from Detroit, Michigan.*

*

Misinformed!

Listening to your discussion last Sunday we were astounded how misinformed you were about the subject of crime. Crime has more than doubled in the last two years in Philadelphia, and I've heard in other large cities too. . . . . Do your discussion groups often just want to paint a bright picture, or are they misinformed?—*A listener from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.*

*

Moral Standards Looser

. . . . Moral standards are much

looser now than before the war; just observe the corner drugstore or candy store near any high school. In certain sections of the city juvenile delinquency has increased. . . . . No, I don't believe that there will be a moral disillusionment after the war as I believe that the Atlantic Charter will be carried out to its full meaning.—*A listener from Chicago, Illinois.*

*

Change in Attitudes after Last War

We all agree that after the last war probably the greatest change was not an exchange of boundaries or the replacement of governments but rather a more subtle and universal change in our everyday attitudes and philosophies. It formed a breaking point for a change from a philosophy of mysticism and sincere studied religious belief to a materialism and, in so many cases, either a superficial religion (in form only) or a new agnosticism and doubt. A new emancipation for women, a rush to the moral "freedom" of the big city, an increase in leisure, and the development of the auto and other means of isolating one's self from scrutinizing eyes led to the removal of many of the restrictions that had separated a man from a woman. Our popular movies and our popular music, two of the most sensitive and exact criteria of social change, both indicate how the men and especially the women at first very timidly and shyly toyed and played with this new moral license (the flapper age) only to toss over completely their timidity and accept without apology or blushes an attitude of complete freedom between the sexes that would have been unbelievable to their grandfathers. . . . .—*A listener from St. Louis, Missouri.*

*

Disillusionment Already Here

. . . . As far as a moral disillusionment after this war goes, the disillusionment of the Darlan deal and the snubbing of DeGaulle; the appeasing of Franco; the apparent Fascistic leanings of our State Department; the politics as usual in this country; the fear that the Senate may not ratify a treaty because of politics may so condition us that we cannot possibly be disillusioned any more after the war. . . . .—*A listener from Whitworth, Connecticut.*

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Jacksonville, Fla.	WJAX	930	Washington, D.C.	WRC	980
Johnstown, Pa.	WJAC	1400	Williamsport, Pa.	WRAK	1400
Harrisburg, Pa.	WKBO	1230	Wilmington, Del.	WDEL	1150
Lakeland, Fla.	WLAK	1340	Winston-Salem, N.C.	WSJS	600
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Chicago, Ill.	WMAQ	670	Mankato, Minn.	KYSM	1230
Dallas, Texas	WFAA	820	Memphis, Tenn.	WMC	790
Des Moines, Iowa	WHO	1040	Mobile, Ala.	WALA	1410
Duluth, Minn., and Superior, Wis.	WEBC	1320	Montgomery, Ala.	WSFA	1440
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Eau Claire, Wis.	WEAU	1070	New Orleans, La.	WSMB	1350
El Paso, Texas	KSTM	1380	Oklahoma City, Okla.	WKY	930
Evansville, Ind.	WGBF	1280	Omaha, Neb.	WOW	590
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Houston, Texas	KPRC	950	Springfield, Mo.	KGBX	1260
Indianapolis, Ind.	WIRE	1430	Terre Haute, Ind.	WBOW	1230
Kansas City, Mo.	WDAF	610	Tulsa, Okla.	KVOO	1170
Kingsport, Tenn.	WKPT	1400	Virginia, Minn.	WHLB	1400
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11:00 A.M. PACIFIC WAR TIME					
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Los Angeles, Cal.	KFI	640	San Francisco, Cal.	KPO	680
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MAY 9, 1943

IS THE GOOD NEIGHBOR POLICY HERE TO STAY?

•

ERIC JOHNSTON, President, United States Chamber of Commerce

ROBERT REDFIELD, Dean, Division of Social Sciences, University of Chicago

(THIRD SPEAKER TO BE ANNOUNCED)

•

SUGGESTED READINGS

GRANT, DAVID E., "Trade and Friendship with Latin America," *Vital Speeches*, December 15, 1942.

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